men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experiences, the Bella Coola believe that *Alquntam* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, grey, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, cougar, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

and eagle whom he invites to dinner it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Mkaa-i-*[illegible] person, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Kwakwiyaxa-*[illegible] mamus, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the fish has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alquntin's* decree. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and corrupted cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-761) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the fish, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

NBS Bellevue NBS

a man, or woman, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Every town, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary [793]
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name or woman
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river. No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the nets. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
beach, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical [502]
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can [765]
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the flood. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon kind and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

Lehmann-Haupt E-3 (2512-2514) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

819 initiation prefatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
536 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a *cumlo*; an adolescent girl, a *cyuwal*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

[764] "At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this,
[753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
881 tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon
[825] and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

[illegible]

the front door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be shunned home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

1 [i.e. - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse. There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers, nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the corpse, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. These, too, must be laid aside unless which a man has smoked for some time, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person means indescribable infamy. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then not gathered. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social requirements of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ceremonial family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as miners with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

so that no floating leaks remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating reed, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the puzzlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by the continuous slow turning, until at last they were on their way, disappointed.

The another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living on Malaita was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if no fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been travelling with a woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was ripped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws, hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once more, and pulled every one of the jagged splints. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

[illegible]

and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *Koeiac* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntăm* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

[illegible] (1932-1934) 1948
[illegible]

would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1925, and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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National Institutes of Health

has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Stella Cosin medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution.

A Kinnaquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten.

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die.

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying:

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

was used by some of Fidler's encounters. It was brought to the room and thrown in.

Taboos

The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different ceremonies, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos in general, though they are all regarded as *cumlo*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun imut* or *kdu imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun imut* and *kdu imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

Sapir-Swanton E-5 (1922-1924)[943]
NEA Bellacoola NEA

phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN 262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Woman of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [326] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kuk!usiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alt* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *k!ukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *k!ukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 774 755 [784 626] It is believed that if a non-initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck. [626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 626] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts [778] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. [784] If this were not done, the loser would soon become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmăt·a* prior to the entry of *Ăłquntăm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmăt·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Ăłquntăm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

575 778 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some [784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

575 778 776 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwolsaix* has a husband, *Almoqhaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

575 "Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. [424] Many *kukusiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a [773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often [178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola seem that such sub-asociation are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemano*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the texts at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Kimsil*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[Kusiut - Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to lance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 *796 533 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 *796 532 [203] The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

Tlpänap, llpänap, kukusiaot, "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."

The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still [533] another song[1] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with [784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

[176] [1] This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xwu···.

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukusiut* with a call of:

Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ano°likwolsaix* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noākxnim*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noākxnim*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*···.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nulwimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tcmotl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiulănem:[97] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Snitsmăn·a:*[98] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

[97] *Asiuttem* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[98] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relative completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial is still preserved tenaciously as the writer found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call.

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Neăkxmm*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

A few nights after the last *nəbusam*, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424]

There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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182
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Concluding Observations and History

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

B Aiakāsgstsmālelxandja	*āltidāk·ānaxldai*	*dikilomemāsutxldai*	533*
I was not good enough(*d*)	when came to me	my patron;	

nmḵmsiqwosamaelixndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasqoēnxilots·ktiamālxks	*āmātaḵs·amālimdai*	*diqoēlqoēlimḵodai*
No one passed outside his house(*e*)	within sight	when blackened his face

enlaelaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

533* [575]* [796]* [535]

Song Used for Kaxwlān·i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A Alaiāxuloqodux	*yao daḵ̄iyumyumdux*	*sawāskpāxstnamsdux*
It has always been so,	it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	all see it

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed themselves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
● 784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and
[727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were
[422] taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to
[567] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumusta* on the
[583] fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe-tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxɬalɪt* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Oɬmihmɣ* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsā·ɣmai* and *Oɬmihmɣ* had eaten part of a *tsimtl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxɬalɪt* people themselves, but *Winās*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *ɬnɛiɛt* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

"*Wa*, ***wa***," he said. "See the breadth of the sky."[1] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winās* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *ɬnɛiɛt* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

Next day the *Nuxɬalɪt* people buried the four victims. *Q̓ēmdlɛm* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

[1] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*192 [301] *na'ʔilo*: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
Na·ɑ·: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nɑmɑm: To dance.
[825] *nɑmɑmɑ*: Those who dance at marriages.
nɑmno: Mallard duck.
[824] *nɑmɑmɑm*: Night of potlatch on which *nɑmɑ* initiates appear for a short dance.
nɑoʔk: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nɑkiɑkɑ*: Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nɑmlɑkɑɬɑ: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nɑmɑxtɑ: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nɑmɑlɑxɑ: Professional name of a *ɬɑxiɑt* marshal.
'Nɑx-ɑɑɑ-ɑ: *Kɑxiɑt* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Nɑxɑlɑ·ɛ: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Nɑ·ɑɑɑkɑɬ: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] [784] *Nɑkɑɬɑkɑɬɑ*, "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
nɑkɑɑm: 1—Fourth day of a *ɬɑxiɑt* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nɑpɑpɑ: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nɑɑɑ, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nɑɑɑɑm: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kɑxiɑt* season.
Nɑɑɑɑ-mɑkɑɑɑ: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitɛɑplilɑn-ɑ*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—*Kɑxiɑt* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nɑɑɑɑlɑɑɑɑ: *Kɑxiɑt* name of a *Nɑɑɑɑlɑt* man.
nɑɑɑlɑɑɑɑ: One who has preserved a marriage song.
nɑɑɑɑɑɑɑɑ: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the creation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Nɑɑɑɑɑɑ*: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tɑɑɑɑ* in the beginning of time.
[524] *nɑɑɑ'ɑɑɑ*: Wooden ring used in a game.
Nɑɑɑɑ: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nɑɑpɑɑ'*: Otter.
Nɑɑɑɑɑ: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Nɑɑɑɑɑɑɑɑ: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitɛɑplilɑn-ɑ*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nɑɑɑɑ*, "Brought to Life": Term applied to a corpse brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nɑɑɑɑɑɑɑɑ: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitɛɑplilɑn-ɑ*.
nɑɑɑɑɑɑɑ: "I have saved you."

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

ɔmātuslaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

ɔmātuts, plural, ɑlɔmātuts: *Kusiut* patron.

O'miātl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

O'mieltɛs: One of the first women to settle at *Stuɛx* in the beginning of time.

O'mietlmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

Omɛɔmkilkɛ: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsɛmɔtl* woman who died about 1915.

'Omîlɔm: *ɛtāmɛ* village.

Omɛɛt: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiotɛm* dancer.

Onikɔtl: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snulɔli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.

'onikwatl: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.

Onirwalicus: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiotɛm* dancer.

Omɛwak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

onɔsālɛ̄stumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.

Onstcitoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

Oɔmikumɛ: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [824]

o'ɛɔk: Skunk cabbage.

Oɔlikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Ālqunɛ̄m.*

oɔ̄ɛ̄a: The steeping of *nɛɔɔk* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

Oɔ̄mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusɛ̄alst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time. [226]

oɔ̄la: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches.

Oɔ̄wan·i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Ɛ̄ɛmɛ·ts.*

O·ɛ̄wi·: Place near *Stuɛx.*

'Oɛwolikdɛmut: One of the first men to settle at *Ɛ̄wiyai* in the beginning of time.

oɛ̄xālɛmsk': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

ɛsāloxtām: Hereditary tendency.

ɛsdakān: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]

ɛsipax: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]

ɛ·xmtdiɛ̄ixwaix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]

ɛtnāxmunaix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.

Ɔtɔsɛ̄kpɛmɛ, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

ɛxpālɛm: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]

ɛxtāmuks: "Where are you going?"

Ɔxtɛlikɛ̄ᵂ, "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

ɔxwallaix: First night of a potlatch.

ɛlitk: Third eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ɔlkuyu: Name of Mink as chief.

O·lɔk di Stɔlɛmɛ: One of the names of the supreme god.

Ɔlɛwa: Celebrated *Wɛɔyɛ̄·a* warrior.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

Tsi-dis: Kitlobe River.

Tsitwalaks: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]

Isima: Animal's entrails. [763]

Isi-t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death.

Isitaowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language. [586]

Isklusnam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [431]

Tsklwi: Restoration Bay.

Tsilt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [825]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Isux: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.

Isuxtsmem or *Isuxtsloix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.

tskunkdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Semoqwa's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sattia* man in the beginning of time.

Iski-kdimut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]

Isla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.

Islaqwaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]

Islla: Presents distributed when a *nusuk* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]

Isma: Belt. [465]

Isna: Nettle. [824]

Tsemhaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.

Ispadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]

Ispeit: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]

Ispatka: Winter wren.

tsqwalt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]

Isubilia: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]

Isulkun: Prompter.

Tsumilaks: One of the first women to settle at *Snulali* in the beginning of time.

Tsuatlink: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmoil* in the beginning of time. [824]

Isxwaalp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]

tutuluxp: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*

tutuptu-i: Trout, *plural.*

tutus'ats'tkauk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.

tutuys, "What Is Good": Synonym for *dsamamtum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

Tutuul-us: Synonym for *Nutsilleiuaikun:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

tutwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nusuk* and *a'alt* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

Tualalit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.